

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 AID-05 CEQ-01 CIAE-00 ERDA-05

COME-00 DODE-00 EB-07 EPA-01 INR-07 L-03 NSF-01

NSC-05 NSAE-00 PM-04 USIA-06 OES-06 SS-15 SP-02

FEAE-00 INT-05 CEA-01 CIEP-01 FPC-01 H-02 OMB-01

SAM-01 STR-04 TRSE-00 ACDA-07 /117 W

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R 011510Z DEC 76

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3934

INFO AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 9574

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: ECE, CSCE, PFOR, EEWT, ETRN, ENRG, SENV

REF: GENEVA 9196

1. SUMMARY. DEPTOFF SWARTZ HELD BILATERALS, ON FRINGES OF ECE TRADE COMMITTEE MEETING, WITH NORWEGIAN AND FINNISH REPS. RE BASKET II AND SOVIET CONGRESSES PROPOSAL. ON CONGRESSES, FINNS AMPLIFIED ON THEIR FORMAL RESPONSE, ALREADY TRANSMITTED TO ECE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY STANOVNIK PURSUANT TO DECISION B(XXXI) (SEE REFTTEL FOR SUMMARY AND COMMENTARY). WE DISCUSSED WITH NORWEGIANS IMPLICATIONS AND POSSIBILITIES INHERENT IN THEIR AIR POLLUTION EMISSIONS STANDARDS CONFERENCE PROPOSAL AND ITS RELATION TO SOVIET INITIATIVE. US DEL. ALSO HAD SHORT MEETING WITH STANOVNIK, WHO REPORTED ON VARIOUS DEVELOPMENTS, ESPECIALLY HIS IMPENDING VISIT TO MOSCOW (WHICH BEGINS TODAY, DEC. 1, CONFIDENTIAL

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AND IS AT SOVIET INVITATION). SEVERAL SOURCES INDEPENDENTLY REPORTED RUMORS THAT: A) FRENCH FEAR US AND USSR MAY REACH "BIG POWER ACCORD" ON CONGRESSES, PRESENTING SMALLER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES WITH FAIT ACCOMPLI; AND B)

EC-9, LED BY UK AND FRG, ARE LEANING TOWARD DEALING WITH CONGRESSES PROPOSAL AT BELGRADE RATHER THAN ECE 32ND SESSION. END SUMMARY.

2. FINNISH RESPONSE ON CONGRESSES. FINNISH REP. TOLD SWARTZ THAT MOTIVATION BEHIND SUBSTANCE OF HIS COUNTRY'S NOTE TO STANOVNIK WAS REALIZATION THAT CONGRESSES IDEA CANNOT BE KILLED AND THAT NEXT BEST ALTERNATIVE IS TO MOLD INITIATIVE INTO AREAS USEFUL TO THE WEST. HE CLAIMED SOVIETS HAD MADE NO BILATERAL DEMARCHES TO FINLAND SEEKING SUPPORT FOR CONGRESSES AND THAT FINNISH RESPONSE WAS DRAFTED IN GENEVA AND SENT TO HELSINKI WHERE IT RECEIVED PRO FORMA CLEARANCE. IN FACT, HE NOTED, SOVIETS HAVE NOT HELD BILATERALS WITH FINLAND AT ALL ON CSCE FOR LAST SIX MONTHS, ALTHOUGH AMB. MENDELEVICH WILL BE VISITING HELSINKI FOR THIS PURPOSE IN NEXT WEEK OR SO.

3. FINNISH NOTE TO STANOVNIK WAS DELIBERATELY VAGUE, MENTIONING ONLY ENVIRONMENT AS AREA OF INTEREST. RE ECE'S ROLE, FIRST DRAFT OF NOTE HAD SUGGESTED HOLDING ENVIRONMENT CONFERENCE "WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE ECE." IT WAS SUBSEQUENTLY FELT, HOWEVER, THAT FINAL PHRASEOLOGY ("MAKING FULL USE OF ECE") SEEMED TO PRESUPPOSE A GREATER SUBSTANTIVE ROLE FOR ECE. NOTING FINNISH VIEW THAT HIGH-LEVEL POLITICAL IMPULSE NEEDED FOR ENVIRONMENT MEETING, ALBEIT WHOLLY WITHIN ECE CONTEXT, FINNISH REP. SAID HIS COUNTRY ENVISAGES CALLING MEETING AN "ECE MINISTERIAL."

4. NORWEGIAN PROPOSAL FOR CONFERENCE ON EMISSIONS STANDARDS. NORWEGIAN GENEVA MISSION OFFICER AND FOREIGN OFFICE BASKET II EXPERT MET WITH DEPTOFF TO CONVEY LATEST THINKING ON NORWEGIAN AIR POLLUTION INITIATIVE. FIRST, THEY EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT NATO ALLIES, EXCEPT FOR US, STILL HAVE NOT COMMENTED ON PROPOSAL, INITIALLY FLOATED AT ECONADS B II MEETING IN OCTOBER. NEXT THEY CONFIDENTIAL

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INDICATED NORWAY STILL HAS NOT DECIDED WHETHER TO PROPOSE THE CONFERENCE FORMALLY AT ECE SENIOR ENVIRONMENTAL ADVISORS MEETING IN JANUARY OR WAIT UNTIL LATER (E.G., BELGRADE). THIRD, NORWAY HOLDING BILATERALS WITH SWEDEN AT END OF THIS WEEK TO SEEK LATTER'S AGREEMENT TO IDEA. MOST IMPORTANTLY, NORWAY WANTS TO ASSURE THAT ITS CONFERENCE DOES NOT BECOME ENTANGLED IN POLITICS SURROUNDING SOVIET INITIATIVE, WHICH IS ADMITTEDLY DIFFICULT GIVEN ITS SUBJECT MATTER.

5. DEPTOFF, STRESSING HE WAS SPEAKING INFORMALLY, SPECULATIVELY, AND WITHOUT INSTRUCTIONS, WONDERED IF THE NORWEGIAN PROPOSAL MIGHT NOT SERVE AS MODEL POINTING WAY

TO RESOLUTION OF THE SOVIET CONGRESSES IMPASSE. REALISTICALLY, HE SUGGESTED, WEST PROBABLY CANNOT COMPLETELY TURN ASIDE SOVIET DETERMINATION TO HOLD CONGRESSES. SOME SORT OF COMPROMISE WILL THUS LIKELY BE NECESSARY AND WEST'S OBJECTIVE IN THAT CASE WOULD BE TO SHAPE CONFERENCES TO MEET WESTERN INTERESTS. NORWEGIAN CONFERENCE TO REACH INTER-GOVERNMENTAL AGREEMENT ON EMISSIONS STANDARDS IS GOOD EXAMPLE OF LIMITED, CONCRETE IMPLEMENTATION PROJECTS WEST HAS BEEN PURSUING IN ECE IN DECISION D(XXXI). SOVIETS WOULD FIND IT DIFFICULT TO REJECT SUCH A MEETING EVEN IF IT WERE THE ONLY "ENVIRONMENT CONGRESS". PRESUMABLY SIMILAR LIMITED TOPICS, OF CLEAR INTEREST TO WEST, COULD BE FOUND IN ENERGY AND TRANSPORT FIELDS AS WELL.

6. NORWEGIANS FOUND THIS SUGGESTION INTERESTING BUT NOT WITHOUT TROUBLESOME ASPECTS. FOR EXAMPLE, MIGHT NOT SOVIETS TAKE SUCH A WESTERN RESPONSE AS SIGN OF CAVING AND PUSH ALL THE HARDER FOR THEIR CONGRESSES AS ORIGINALLY PROPOSED? DANGER THEN WOULD BE THAT NORWEGIAN INITIATIVE WOULD BE SUBSUMED IN MORASS OF PROPAGANDA CIRCUS OF SOVIET CONGRESSES. NONETHELESS, AND TAKING NOTE OF FACT THAT DEPTOFF HAD BEEN SPEAKING INFORMALLY, NORWEGIANS WILL CONSIDER IDEA AND BE BACK IN TOUCH.

7. CALL ON STANOVNIK. US DEL TO ECE TRADE COMMITTEE PAID COURTESY CALL ON STANOVNIK LATE NOVEMBER 30 TO INTRODUCE ALLEN LENZ, HEAD OF US DEL. STANOVNIK MADE CONFIDENTIAL

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FOLLOWING POINTS ON CONGRESSES:

SOVIETS HAVE INVITED HIM TO MOSCOW, DECEMBER 1 AND 2, WHERE HE WILL MEET WITH DEPFORMIN RODIONOV AND OTHERS, PRIMARILY ON SUBJECT OF CONGRESSES. HE EXPECTS SOVIETS TO PROVIDE SOME SUBSTANCE TO THEIR INITIATIVE, AS RESULT OF "KIRILLIN COMMITTEE" WORK, BUT TO REMAIN VAGUE ON ROLE FOR ECE. STANOVNIK UNDERSTANDS SOVIETS WILL CRITICIZE HIS HANDLING OF DECISION B(XXXI) TO DATE (I.E., NEGLECTING TO CIRCULATE FACT THAT WESTERN COUNTRIES HAVE NOT YET SUBMITTED RESPONSES TO SECRETARIAT).

CZECHS HANDED STANOVNIK THEIR REPLY THAT DAY (NOV. 30). IT FOLLOWS PATTERN OF HUNGARIAN AND POLISH REPLIES, I.E., CALLS FOR CONGRESSES TO CONVENE INITIALLY AT HIGH POLITICAL LEVEL WITH FOLLOW-UP BY TECHNICAL SPECIALISTS. ROLE FOR ECE NOT SPECIFIED IN NOTE; IN HANDING IT OVER CZECH AMBASSADOR CLAIMED IT WAS SIMPLY "DRAFTED POORLY".

IN RESPONSE TO DEPTOFF'S REPORT ON POLISH DCM'S CALL ON EUR-RPE DIRECTOR ALBRECHT LAST WEEK (NAMELY THAT POLES ENVISAGE NO SUBSTANTIVE ROLE FOR ECE), STANOVNIK

SAID HE HAD SAME IMPRESSION BOTH FROM POLISH NOTE ITSELF AND FROM DISCUSSION WITH POLISH REPS. IN GENEVA. THIS WAS THE MORE INTERESTING, HE SAID, SINCE DURING RECENT VISIT TO WARSAW POLISH FOREIGN MINISTER HAD ASSURED HIM THAT POLES WANTED CONGRESSES HELD FULLY WITHIN ECE.

8. BOTH NORWEGIANS AND FINNS REPORTED THAT UK AND FRG WORKING TO PERSUADE EC-9 TO ADOPT POSITION FAVORING POSTPONEMENT OF RESOLUTION OF CONGRESSES ISSUE UNTIL BELGRADE. RATIONALE APPARENTLY IS THAT BY CONCEDED ON CONGRESSES (WHICH IN ANY CASE THEY CONSIDER INESCAPABLE) WEST COULD OBTAIN SOVIET CONCESSION TO WESTERN INITIATIVE IN SOME OTHER BASKET. THIS TACTIC WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE IF ISSUE DEALT WITH IN MORE LIMITED CONTEXT OF ECE 32ND SESSION. NORWEGIANS FURTHER NOTED THAT FRENCH AMBASSADOR HERE HAS SAID FRANCE FEARS THAT IN END US AND SOVIETS WILL ARRIVE AT A "BIG POWER" ACCORD BILATERALLY ON CONGRESSES, POSSIBLY TO DETRIMENT OF INTERESTS OF SMALLER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. CATTO  
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